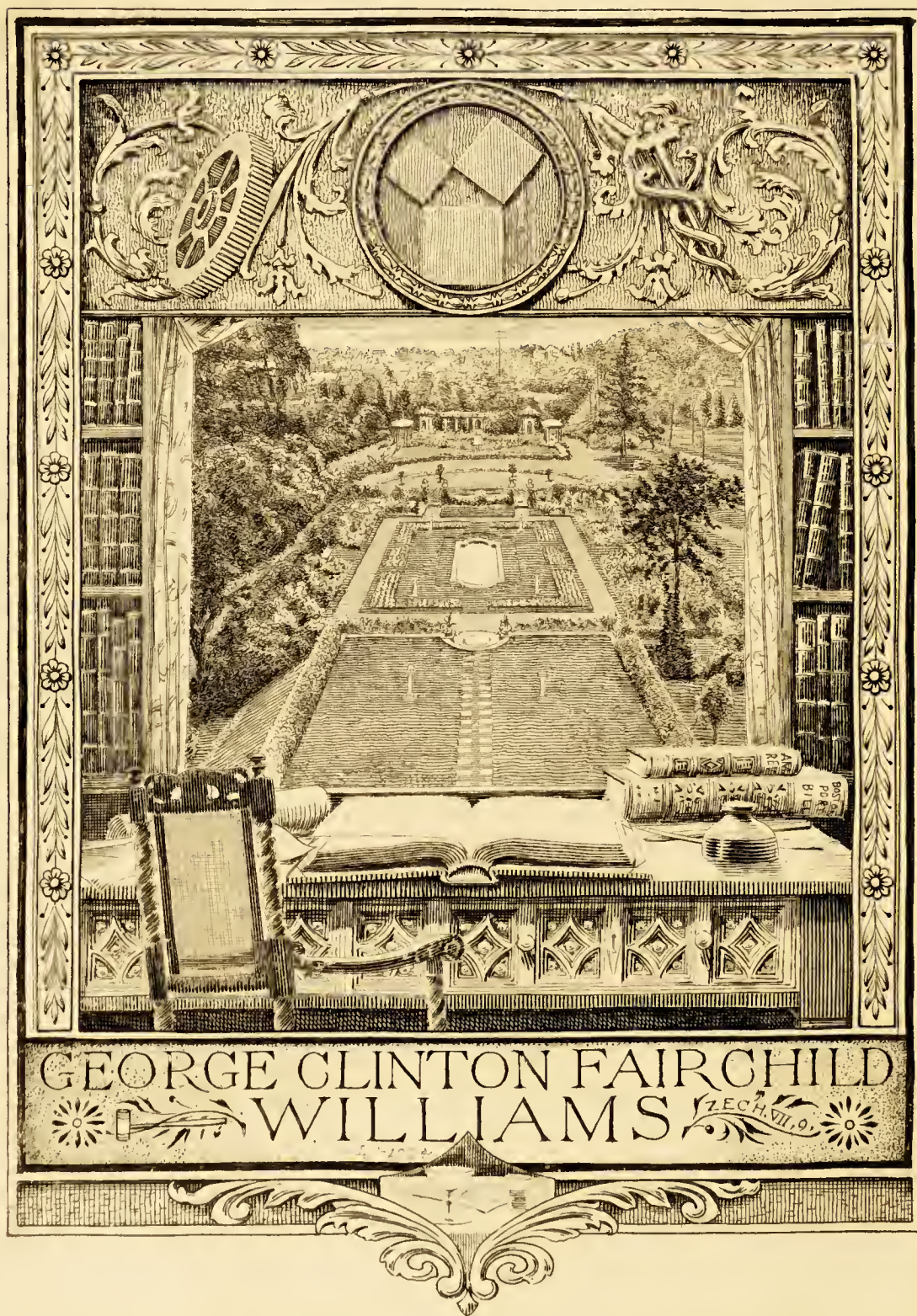


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THE HUMBLE

A D D R E S S

OF THE

P E O P L E

OF

G R E A T - B R I T A I N

TO

H I S M A J E S T Y.



L O N D O N :

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ADVERTISEMENT.

SINCE the ratification of the late treaty of peace, many addreffes to his Majesty have been published upon the occasion, both from corporations and particular bodies of men. The reader is here presented with one from a far more respectable body than any one of them. An address, which has never before appeared in print, and which has not been disgraced by any ministerial sollicitation. If it shall happily convey the honest sentiments of an honest people to their beloved King, the great end of this publication will be fully answered.

P. B.

THE [illegible] [illegible]

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TO THE

KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY.

The humble ADDRESS of the PEOPLE
of GREAT BRITAIN.

May it please your Majesty,

E your Majesty's most dutiful
and loyal subjects, the people of
Great Britain, humbly beg leave
to approach your royal throne, not as
flattering sycophants, or party tools, but
as honest men, with our real and undis-
guised sentiments; which, from the high
opinion we truly entertain of the good-
ness of your Majesty's heart, we doubt
not will be more acceptable to your Ma-
jesty than the highest strains of adula-
tion.

tion. We will not insult and deceive your Majesty with falshood and lies ; and we dare not attribute to a mortal man what is due only to THE SUPREME SOVEREIGN.

WE first pay our just tribute of adoration and praise to that ALMIGHTY POWER who heard our solemn appeal, and has vindicated the just rights of an injured nation by a long series of surprizing successes ! even so great, as to deprive our enemies of the finews of war, and consequently of the power to continue their unjust violence. The superiority hereby given to *Great Britain* could alarm no nation ; since *her* power can be employed only (whilst her constitution remains) in her own and her neighbours just defence, against the bold and destructive attempts of tyranny and ambition : and it is well known, that *her* spirit has ever been superior to the scandalous meaness of that mischievous passion.—We therefore sincerely join with
your

your Majesty in saying, To HIM BE THE GLORY.

WE beg leave next to express our due admiration of your Majesty's tendernefs and humanity in offering peace to a disabled enemy; and pay our grateful acknowledgments for your Majesty's kind and laudable endeavours to end a long and expenfive war, tho' necessary on our part, by a safe, lasting, and honourable peace. And we wish we could see reason to say, that the persons employed in transacting this momentous and interesting affair, had wisely and faithfully executed their trust, so as fully to have answered your Majesty's humane, honourable and worthy intentions. We should rejoice to find ourselves mistaken; but we will not conceal from your Majesty's knowledge the ground of our fear and suspicion.

“ A state of war once begun continues
 “ with a right to the innocent party, to
 B 2 destroy

“ destroy the other whenever he can, un-
 “ til the aggressor offers peace, and de-
 “ fires reconciliation on such terms as may
 “ *repair* any wrongs he has already done,
 “ and *secure* the innocent for the future*.

THESE were the two just ends for
 which the late war was entered into at first
 by your Majesty's predecessor. In pursuit
 of THESE your Majesty's loyal subjects
 bore the great, but unavoidable expences
 of the war with true chearfulness, es-
 teeming them absolutely necessary for the
 safety and well-being of your Majesty's
 dominions, and the dignity of your Ma-
 jesty's crown depending thereupon. And
 therefore THESE they thought they might
 reasonably expect to have been the main
 objects in view with those ministers, who
 undertook the negotiations for peace. And
 if they or their advocates can make it
 clear, that these TWO POINTS have been
 secured by the definitive treaty, they will
 find their time much better employed,
 than in indecent abuses of us your Ma-

* Locke on Government, page 180, Edit. 1698.

jeſty's good and faithful ſubjects, only be-
 cauſe we cannot underſtand how a *tract*
of land could be the proper object of
 war, much leſs the only object of
 peace. We look upon the *enemy* as the
 object of war, and *indemnity* from him
 for paſt injuries, with *ſecurity* againſt his
 future hoſtile attempts, as the proper ob-
 ject of peace. Such ſecurity would fix
 the power of maintaining peace (where
 it ought to be) in the conqueror's hands.

BUT if any miniſtry will preſume to
 throw the power of maintaining peace out
 of their hands, and then ſay they have
 made a peace; it looks too much like the
 old cry (complained of by the prophet)
of peace, peace, when there is no peace! It
 may be but laying the foundation of an-
 other, perhaps, more bloody and expen-
 ſive war; which, how it can be ſup-
 ported, or how it may end, God only
 knows; and how far they may again de-
 ſerve his protection, he alone is the judge;
 tho' ſome men may poſſibly, in the mean
 time, diſtreſs themſelves with unwelcome
 conjectures.

conjectures. Ministers who act in this manner, however pathetically they may talk of the effusion of human blood, will be deemed no better than *men who delight in war*, by those who may feel much more for that dreadful calamity upon their fellow creatures, than men who make a parade of talking of it only to serve a present private turn. In all this we trust your Majesty's wisdom and humanity will join with us. How far these general observations are applicable to the late treaty of 1763 merits a serious consideration.

OUR fears on this occasion we will not scruple to lay before the tender father of his country; humbly confiding in your Majesty's wisdom and virtue, that, if they should hereafter appear not altogether groundless, all the remedy will be applied that is left in your Majesty's power.

THE great expence which France has put this kingdom to in defence of its undoubted

doubted rights, before she would submit to any terms of accommodation, is doubtless a very material part of that injury which claims indemnity and satisfaction. That your Majesty's *ministers* clearly saw how sensibly the debt contracted on this account affected your Majesty's subjects, appears evidently from their heavy complaints of the *incapacity*, they declared themselves reduced to thereby, of raising supplies to continue the war. Therefore we could not look upon ourselves as authorized to *suspect* that it was possible for them to lose sight of that material object in their negotiations for peace. For if we could not continue the war with four monopolies against France in our hands, *viz.* the East India, African, Sugar, and Fish trades, together with all the American riches of Spain in our power; with what hope or courage can we enter into a new, tho' defensive war, without one of these advantages, if France or Spain should drive us to that necessity? unless some provision has been made by the treaty
of

of peace for the payment of that debt by France, which she has forced us to contract in our own defence ; or some exclusive branch of trade reserved to this kingdom, which may diminish it by degrees, and afford a reasonable hope of seeing the greatest part paid off, before the necessity of affairs shall raise the melancholy prospect of being obliged to double it, without being able to see that the whole wealth of the kingdom will be sufficient to bear the expence. If the unprecedented successes of the war had not thrown into our hands *enough* to answer this necessary purpose, we think we had *no more* than our just due, and consequently had *nothing* to restore, that our enemies were unable to take by force ; and if we had *more than enough*, so much (*at least*) we think ought, in all prudence, to have been reserved.

THAT there is scarcely any branch of trade, which France has in common with us, and is equally master of, but she is
able

able to undersell us in any market equally open to both, is a fact which no sensible ministry can be ignorant of; and which a wise and honest ministry, we think, would carefully provide against as far as in their power lay; especially when the necessities of the nation loudly called for it.

WE are greatly concerned to find ourselves obliged to acknowledge, that, after carefully examining the *public* articles of the treaty of 1763, no adequate provision appears to us to be there made for these important services: if they are happily provided for by any *secret* article, the ministry, by making it known, would give great comfort to your Majesty's faithful subjects, and a lasting honour would redound to themselves.

WE heartily wish, for your Majesty's sake as well as our own, that the loss of that vast trade thrown back into the hands of France, may not diminish the income

C

of

of the public revenue so far, as to reduce us to the necessity of finding out new funds to pay the interest of old debts. For if this should ever be the case, the negotiating a new loan, tho' the call for it is ever so urgent, must, we fear, be attended with difficulties little short of insurmountable. And from the same motives we wish also, that, if some difficulties on this account should arise, a true British spirit and resolution will interpose to prevent any unreasonable compliances to put off the evil day, which may double the mischief, when it proves inevitable.

WE will dwell no longer upon this disagreeable prospect. For notwithstanding the loss of this *indemnity*, if the ministry have made sure of the other point, that is, *security against the future attempts of our enemies*, your Majesty and your people may yet be safe, and perhaps *more*
happy,

happy, tho' *less* rich than they might otherwise have been.

THAT the *word* of France, nay her most solemn engagements before God and man, have lost even the *shadow* of a *security*, is a truth too well known to every power in EUROPE, to be now disputed. Nothing could ever yet engage *her* to be honest against the calls of ambition and interest, but its being out of her power to be otherwise. If we look back no farther than the *Restoration*, the history of Europe from that time to the present seems to be a continued series of undeniable evidence of her *uniform faithless conduct*; and that both *England* and *Holland* have frequently been (either from the *weakness* or *corruption* of their great men) the *silly dupes* of her *infamous policy*. Therefore we your Majesty's faithful subjects would be glad to flatter ourselves with the hope, that some better security has been provided for our future safety than the *honour*

of France, by a *ministry* who could not possibly be ignorant of its real value.

THE power of France to hurt us must lie in the largeness of her revenue, or in the superiority of her marine force.

WHAT comfort can we administer to your Majesty, or take to ourselves, on either of these two points, from a review of the *late* treaty of peace? Before the commencement of it we saw France without trade, with a fleet truly inoffensive; and Spain with a lock upon her treasure, and the key in our pocket; and what is more, all this *our own*, or *in our own power*, and purchased with the *blood* and *treasure* of your Majesty's faithful people.—But now, we see France reinstated in her trade *in all its branches*, when she could not have commanded *one* of them, and that with such *additional* and *very material* advantages as she could never have hoped for, had not her islands fallen into our hands; and when every
 article

article restored to her throws *double* the weight into the scale against this kingdom ; and all this without *any equivalent*, or any stipulation (as far as we can see) for the payment of the least part of that heavy, tho' necessary, debt, which must now lie as a dead weight upon the public revenue, without any reasonable hope of redemption.

YOUR Majesty will be at no loss to know *what your* good people think of this *strange* conduct of the ministry, when you are informed they are of opinion, that this kingdom had *sufficient* in its hands to answer this or any other reasonable purpose, 'till it was idly thrown away by men who *did not*, or *would not* know what was in their power. How much all this must encrease the revenues and power of France, it would be an insult upon your Majesty's judgment for us to offer to explain. We hope the ministry did not mean by this to convince

us,

us, *that our conquests must prove our ruin*; an argument which their writers seemed particularly fond of.

EVEN the bold and confident writer of the *Brussels Gazette* himself, did not venture to suppose, that, in case *Martinico* fell into our hands, France could ask more than her choice of *one* of the two islands, *Martinico* or *Guadalupe*; and upon that supposition determined that her choice would fall on *Martinico*.—What opinion of the ministry who negotiated the peace, encouraged her afterwards not only to demand *both*, but also the *best* of the Neutral Islands, *which was originally our own*, along with them, is a mystery which at present lies hid in the womb of time: and what *motive* induced the ministry to comply so readily with that demand, they themselves best know. And yet these are but a small part of that trade and power, which they
have

have generously made France a compliment of.

YOUR Majesty, we doubt not, can well remember, that the *unknown, infinite resources of France* for carrying on the war, was made use of by the ministry as an unanswerable argument for hastening the peace. If they were in *earnest*, could it be possible for men, who had really the interest of their country at heart, to be so lavish in their presents, as to increase those resources to that height, which the definitive treaty seems to have raised them to? And that not only the *real* height; but, what is more material, *the comparative one with respect to our own*. If they were *not in earnest*, we cannot think it unreasonable to suspect in them something like FOUL PLAY. It is true suspicions are *but* suspicions; and it is time only which can either justify or condemn them. The wickedness of mens hearts is not easy to be come at; but the
weakness

weakness of their conduct is visible to all the world, and the effect equally destructive to the nation, let the motive be what it may.

THE next consideration is, whether the power given into the hands of France by the late peace, may increase her *naval force* so far as to hazard the security of this kingdom. If this should ever prove to be the case, every honest man's heart in it will tremble for *the safety of his King* and *this poor nation*, and his tongue will curse the *authors* of the danger.

THE prodigious trade freely given back out of our own hands to France seems at present to look upon us with a gloomy aspect on this account. The quantity of *shipping*, and consequently of *sailors* supported by it, was not known or believed, before the successes of our arms revealed the secret. But *when it was known*, that it should *then* be all voluntarily thrown
back

back to them again, together with that grand nursery of seamen the *Newfoundland fishery*, is to us truly unaccountable, and at present appears extremely dangerous. If the ministry should ask, *would you have France left without any trade?* We answer, *no*. We would wish her *enough* for her own support and defence; but *not more* than would keep her hands out of mischief.

WITH regard to the Newfoundland fishery, your Majesty will give us leave to express the strong sense we have of the necessary importance of securing the power and interest of your Majesty's dominions in that fishery, which is one of the most essential foundations of our naval power; and it is our earnest request, that, whatever ministry may be employed in the conduct of our affairs, they may guard it with a *watchful eye*, a *steady conduct*, and a *determined vigorous resolution*; that they may never forget the

D

faithless

faithless and ungrateful behaviour of *France* in this case, after the peace of *Utrecht*. 'Tho' that was the first treaty which gave her the least right of claim to any share in that trade, she no sooner found herself in possession of it, but boldly ventured to *sink any British ships*, which presumed to fish to the northward of the island, calling that part of the sea her own; and all this upon no better pretence than her being indulged with a liberty to dry her fish on that part of the coast of an island, in which she had no right to a foot of land as a *proprietor*. There is another power of *France*, relating to this affair, which requires to be equally watched and prevented, otherwise it may prove equally destructive, as it may in time give *France* the monopoly of that fishery; that is her power to underwork us, and consequently to undersel us in foreign markets. For let men be ever so willing and ready to serve their country,

it

it is impossible for them to support a losing trade. The consequence is very clear.

IT is not long ago we thought we had every thing to hope; and now surely the ministry themselves cannot blame us for wishing we had nothing to fear.

BUT notwithstanding these alarming appearances, we are not *yet* left without hope. We have the protection of that divine Providence to depend upon, which has so remarkably favoured this nation, even in the most perilous times. In this we must beg leave to dissent from that ministry, who seemed, not long ago, so shy of trusting it, tho' backed by the strongest human probabilities; and, to mend the matter, reduced *themselves* to that necessity, with the probabilities on the other side.

OUR next dependance is upon your Majesty's wisdom and virtue. The urgent necessity of the times, and your Majesty's goodness of heart, make us hope for the utmost exertion of both. The greatest difficulty your Majesty and other crowned heads labour under is to come at the knowledge of truth. If Princes could know the truth, *the truth would make them free*. But " they must
 " judge of affairs by such represen-
 " tations as others make to them : these
 " are sometimes made by cunning and
 " designing men, and sometimes by weak
 " ones †." Therefore we pray God to endow your Majesty with " princely
 " wisdom and understanding, with quick-
 " nefs and sagacity, that you may know
 " men, and penetrate into affairs, and

† Dr. Lucas's sermon, on the 7th of November, 1710.

“ govern happily ||.” That your Majesty may be blessed with a ministry, in whose ability and integrity both your Majesty and your people can securely confide, and equal to the arduous task which lies before them; *men fearing God and* HATING COVETUOUSNESS: a ministry, which France and Spain may look upon with so much awe, as to keep themselves within the bounds of honour and justice; and a ministry *who can restore that universal peace and harmony,* which not long ago was the terror of our enemies, and the joy of all your Majesty’s dominions; but which has lately been unhappily lost by the weak conduct of men, who have all along been loudly complaining of the want of that confidence of your people, which they have never had the prudence to endea-

|| Ibid.

vour

vour to gain, or deserve, by any reasonable means.

“ REPUTATION and credit, the quiet
 “ and satisfaction of mens minds, can
 “ be rationally built on nothing but
 “ experience. This alone can convince
 “ any impartial thinking man of the
 “ ability, integrity, or other virtues of
 “ those, on whom our affairs depend,
 “ both as to the council and execution of
 “ them †.” All extravagant commen-
 dation and praise prior to this is out of
 time, and rather raises suspicion than gives
 content. And all abusive noise and cla-
 mour against the effect of this expe-
 rience upon mens minds, is but making
 the matter worse. As nature itself will
 not allow the effect to cease while the
 cause remains, it is out of the power of

† Ibid.

man to make it otherwise ; and all attempts for that purpose can end in nothing better than *labour in vain*.

THIS domestic peace and harmony restored, would, we are persuaded, give great joy to your Majesty ; it would give great joy to all your Majesty's faithful subjects ; and seems absolutely necessary to enable us to make any useful improvement of what the ministry have thought fit to leave in our hands, and to secure us against the fatal effects of the future intrigues of our avowed enemies.

WE humbly rely upon your Majesty's wisdom and fatherly goodness to bring about this GLORIOUS EVENT.

THAT your Majesty's reign may be long and prosperous ; that all ministerial artifice, imposition, and treachery, may
be

(24)

be detected and *suitably* rewarded, is the
sincere prayer of,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's

most dutiful, and

loyal Subjects,

The PEOPLE *of* GREAT BRITAIN.

F I N I S.

